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THE GENERAL PLAN IN THE URBAN PLANNING PROCESS: ESSAY
AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by Holway R. Jones, Librarian, City and Regional Planning
Library, University of California, Berkeley, with an Introduction by
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CONTENTS

- I. Introduction, by T. J. Kent, Jr.
- II. The Nature of the General Plan and the Interim General
Plan, by Graduate Students, University of California.
- III. A Bibliographic Essay on the Evolution of the General Plan by
Holway R. Jones.

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I. Introduction

For twenty-six years, between 1929 and 1955, the practice of
city and county planning in California was characterized by uncertainty
among the members of the profession as to the meaning of the basic
general plan concept and the specific term, "the master plan."

In 1929 the definition of the master plan in the California city plan-
ning enabling act was amended to permit any city or county planning

* The original manuscript for this bibliography was completed in Decem-
ber, 1961, but was withheld from publication until after Professor Kent
had released the draft of his book, The Urban General Plan. Citation
to this draft is made in Section III. The subtitle of the bibliography
was changed to reflect more accurately the nature of the compilation.
Emphasis is on the evolution of the urban general plan concept as an
operational document. Professor Kent's graduate seminar in the fall
semester, 1962, will undertake to compile an annotated bibliography
of general plan examples, and this will be made available in a later
number of the Exchange Bibliographies.

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commission to decide for itself what constituted the essential physical elements of its master plan. During the following two decades, for a number of reasons, this legislative definition was interpreted to mean that any single element plan or single district plan, or any combination of these plans, could, since the law was specifically permissive on this point, be designated as the master plan of a city or county. Because the California law was outstanding in other respects, its use as an example throughout the nation meant that the illogical definition of the master plan that it contained was spread far and wide prior to World War II.

By 1945 the backlog of capital improvement projects caused by the postponement of normal city building activities during the war had created a demand by civic leaders for unified, logical general plans throughout the United States, and this demand, in turn, led to a new recognition by the leaders of the profession of the need for agreement on the essential elements of the general plan. Nationally this agreement was expressed as early as 1943 by the clear definition of the essential elements of the general plan included in the Model Urban Redevelopment Act prepared by Alfred Bettman for the American Society of Planning Officials, and by the careful description of the technical nature and purpose of the general plan included in City Planning and Urban Development published in 1952 by the United States Chamber of Commerce. The text of this booklet was prepared by a joint committee of the Chamber and the American Institute of Planners, and was approved by the Board of Governors of the Institute prior to publication.

In California, however, it was not until 1955 that agreement was reached on the necessity of eliminating the illogical definition that had caused so much confusion and uncertainty ever since it had been written into the city and county planning enabling act twenty-six years earlier. In 1955 the California Legislature finally amended the law, in response to recommendations submitted by the Legislative Committee of the California Chapter of the American Institute of Planners, and the present California legislative definition of the essential physical elements of the general plan is, once again, a logical and useful definition.

The two chapters from the 1951 University of California graduate student study reproduced on the following pages are best understood as an expression of the effort made by the students to understand the historical background of the general plan concept in the United States and California, and the controversy concerning the meaning of this concept that I have briefly outlined above. Mr. Jones has chosen to reproduce them in this bibliography because, although written in what we now can see was the middle of the postwar debate on this subject within the city planning profession in California, they still seem to present one of the most useful written statements available on the nature and purpose of the urban general plan. As the instructor responsible for the project,

I would like to express my admiration for the quality of the work done by the students throughout the entire study, and to express the hope that the ideas presented in the material reproduced here may be stimulating and informative to other students, as well as to city planning professors and practitioners.

To contemporary readers, the vital interest that we obviously had in this subject in 1951 may now seem to have been academic. But when this study was undertaken, the issue was an important and controversial one for the American city planning profession. If the publication of this statement on the nature and purpose of the urban general plan assists the next generation to avoid the detours that some of us in the generation that entered the profession in the nineteen-thirties had to travel, it will have served its purpose.

In closing, I would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Holway Jones for his creative work as a bibliographer in the field of city planning. I am conscious of the fact that practice-oriented city planning faculty members do not write as much as their more academically-oriented colleagues do, and I am grateful to Mr. Jones for his initiative in discovering effective ways to document ideas and concepts that may be of value even in fragmentary form to the members of the profession, both in the universities and in the city halls and county court houses throughout the country.

II-a. THE NATURE OF THE GENERAL PLAN*

City planning is no longer a novel activity of municipal government. Having achieved a youthful middle age, it has accumulated a large body of experience; it has attracted an enthusiastic group of imaginative practitioners; and it has become a continuous advisory function within American city government. But, in common with many other arts and sciences born of this century, it has failed to develop an established general theory. The absence of an accepted theory is reflected in the profession's uncertainty with respect to its role, uncertainty with respect to the procedures and the products which are its task. The citizens who employ the planners are seldom certain of their own purposes; the city officials who work with them are seldom sure of just what it is that the planner is up to.

* Reprinted from Interim General Plan for Berkeley, California; Part I: Studies and Proposals; Graduate Student Project, CP 213, Department of City and Regional Planning and the School of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, January, 1952, pp. 3-19.

But this fluidity of present planning thought and practice is not to be lamented; rather, it is a quality which helps to insure the future of the profession. Certainty often becomes dogma which, in turn, discourages innovation; and a body of too rigidly accepted planning theory might well quench imaginative thinking. By its very character, planning is a species of activity which either continues to grow by innovation or dies.

The contemporary planner in the modern community finds himself in a particularly fertile field, where the opportunity for imaginative innovation is limited only by his own deficiencies. Although his role in that community suffers in some degree from a lack of clear definition, the need for someone of his skill and training is generally recognized by all members of the society. The citizen of almost every city in the United States is dissatisfied with traffic conditions. In most large cities the problems of blight are of particular concern to business firms, to citizen groups, and to city officials. Discontent with the quality and the quantity of public services is not uncommon. Property-owners and tenants alike are periodically concerned with the insidious encroachment of commerce and industry into residential areas. There are few who are wholly pleased with the appearance of the central portions of their cities. There is probably no single person living in an American city today who has not on some occasion expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with some aspect of his environment and voiced the time-worn phrase, "Why don't 'they' do something about it?"

As indeed "they" should; for the modern city is fraught with a complex of serious problems, the solutions to many of which are clearly the responsibility of city government. Within the past half century, American city government has attempted to meet that responsibility.

The early professional planning activity, which was initiated shortly after the 1893 Chicago Fair, was largely an effort to beautify the city. The plans which were drawn for many American cities captured the imagination and enthusiasm of their citizens and encouraged the civic pride which made possible the erection of large scale public works in remarkably short periods of time. Monumental civic centers, large public parks, waterfront developments, grand avenues sprang into being. There is ample reason to believe that almost everyone was well satisfied with the results; nevertheless the splurge in civic construction soon waned. But not before city planning had become a familiar term to the man in the street; not before city planning had become synonymous with civic beautification.

On the heels of the beautification works arose an increasing interest in housing reform, sanitation enforcement, transit system development, and notably, for the control of activities which were

deemed to be nuisances. Based upon the contention that factories caused a deterioration in living conditions when located in or near residential areas, that property values were endangered by the migration of non-residential land uses into neighborhood communities, most cities in the nation enacted zoning ordinances within a relatively brief period of time. Supplemented by controls over the subdivision of new lands, most cities employed the ordinances as the major device for the guidance of the city's growth.

In the 1930's public housing was projected as one solution to the problem of decay in the older portions of the cities, and large numbers of municipalities, eager to improve themselves, launched public housing programs.

But neither zoning ordinances, subdivision controls, public housing, nor civic beautification separately or jointly have fulfilled the promises that they were once believed to hold. After a generation of experience in the administration of these devices, the physical form of the city is still a source of great concern to its inhabitants, although certainly the problems which provoke that concern have been very greatly ameliorated by those devices.

In large degree, too, that amelioration has been the result of a different species of activity in which some city governments have been engaged. That activity is, of course, city planning.

Although most cities did appoint planning commissions in the period 1925 to 1950, most of the commissions devoted the largest portion of their energies and time to the administration of zoning ordinances and to the design of the new subdivision developments which were taking place on their fringes. The more venturesome of them attempted at the same time to design long-range plans for various aspects of the city's physical plant. Thus, in an attempt to schedule the expenditure of capital funds, plans for parks, for schools, for highways, for sewerage- and water-works and the like, were drawn. These plans represented conscientious attempts at the estimation of the needs of the citizens of the community at some time in the future and were necessarily drawn within the framework of the entire community area for that date. Thus, for example, the construction of a sewerage system in a community in 1940 was based upon designs which attempted to forecast the demand for sewerage facilities some 50 years hence, say 1990. The engineers, in all probability, attempted to predict the density of populations in the various portions of the city, the demands of industrial firms, of commercial and of other activities. In effect, the engineers were placed in the position of attempting to predict the entire pattern of land uses a generation and more ahead. They were attempting to predict the pattern of city streets and highways along which their pipes would be laid. They were attempting to predict the location and scales of the various public and private institutional facilities which would be developed during

their design period. But in the absence of plans for the future development of some of these other components of the city, they were forced to make, at best, enlightened guesses with respect to their patterns of development.

The same kind of problem was faced by those who made plans for other facilities in the city -- streets and highways, schools, parks, waterworks, etc. Wherever the city had previously prepared plans for schools, parks, streets, etc., it is assumed that the sanitary engineer used these as the basis for his computations. But, in turn, those who drew the plans for schools, parks, and streets before him could only have made considered guesses with respect to the future physical patterns of the sewerage system. Each attempted to visualize a city which did not yet exist, and the visualization of one may have been quite different from that of the next. Few ever drew this picture on paper and displayed it for all to see. And in one sense this was perhaps prudent; for the city, as visualized by the sanitary engineer may be in no sense the city desired by the citizens. Nor should one expect that it should be; the sanitary engineer is trained to design sewerage-works and not cities. But in the absence of a community-approved plan to guide him, however, and employed to design an exceedingly expensive city-wide public work as best he could, the engineer all too often did in fact set the basic design of the city. The community which came after him may have had little financial choice but to follow his basic design. The same is true of the basic highway design, the basic park design, the distribution of schools, rail lines, rail-transit routes, etc.

These basic designs are, in fact, in most cities to some degree an expression of community policy, however. One of the basic guides employed by the designer of functional plans is the zoning ordinance which maps the distribution and patterns of land uses in the city. But the zoning ordinance is, of course, not the kind of guide which the designers need in order adequately to perform their task. The ordinance is largely a picture of existing land uses, the legal instrument of control for the present and for the immediate future. It should make no pretenses in this matter. Enacted to control the kinds of development which take place in the various districts of the city in the short period which lies ahead, the zoning ordinance is usually the mirror reflection of past land use patterns and of day-to-day political decisions. Moreover, it is usually concerned primarily with private land uses. It seldom attempts to reduce the intensity of use in any given area; and, for example, should an undesirable pattern of commercial development have occurred prior to enactment, the ordinance would not necessarily attempt to correct the error, but would instead reinforce and expand the unfortunate pattern. In almost every case, the kind of thinking and study which went into the formulation of the zoning ordinance was of a kind quite different from that sought by the sanitary engineer, or the builder, or the school board, or the recrea-

tion commission, or the highway commission, or the industrialist, or the merchant. The kind of document they need is, rather, a general plan for the future uses of the land.

Many cities have initiated planning programs in an attempt to create the kinds of plans which would meet the requirements of their citizens, merchants, industrialists, and their governmental departments. It is probably fair to estimate that very few of them have been wholly satisfied with the results of their efforts. Believing that meaningful plans for the separate functional elements could be developed, and faced with the immediate need to formulate formal bases for decision making, city governments have drawn "master plans" for waterfronts, transit, playgrounds, airports, street numbers, bridle paths, hiking trails, parks, scenic drives, parking, transportation terminals, street trees, utilities, historical sites, and many others. But because the number of variables which influence the separate functional elements are so diverse, the plans which were drawn were not capable of integration one with the other.

The most common such plan being prepared today is that for streets and highways; literally hundreds of such plans have already been produced. But in the absence of a plan for land use, which spells out the areas of varying population density, areas for commercial centers of varying scale, areas for industry of various needs, and areas for other classes of land use, the traffic volume which the planned streets will eventually be forced to carry cannot be estimated with a tolerable degree of accuracy. As the result, the streets and highways plans may be of negligible value. The same is of course true of similar separate plans for parks and the like.

In an attempt to fill this breach, a series of plans is oftentimes prepared and adopted, separate functional plans being cumulated over time, but the same problem arises in each case. A street plan which is completed prior to the preparation of a land use plan must assume a pattern of land uses to which it is to be geared. If a comprehensive plan for future land uses is made in the course of preparation, the trafficways plan may be meaningful. But this is seldom the case, and a set of necessarily tenuous assumptions regarding future land uses is made instead. The land use plan which follows must either be forced into the mold of the admittedly tentative assumptions, or, if it is developed independently, may require a quite different street system to serve it than that proposed by the already published and adopted street plan. Clearly, were it possible to develop all the plans simultaneously, the interrelations among all elements of the plan could better be adjusted one to the other.

The development of a plan for a city might be likened to the development of the design of an airplane. Both are extremely complex mechanisms, the city being by far the more intricate of the two. It

would, in the case of the airplane, be sheer folly to attempt to design pistons before designing cylinders, to design the wings before designing the fuselage. The engineers work on all parts of the plane before the final design for any one part is completed; they can thus adjust the design of the various elements, one to the other, as they proceed. The final over-all design is not completed until all the parts have been integrated into a single working entity. So too, it would seem, must the design of a city proceed.

This adaptation of mechanical engineering procedure to city planning is of course not a new idea. It was proposed by a group of men during the decade of the twenties, notably by Alfred Bettman, one of the pioneers of city planning in this nation. In 1925, under Bettman's leadership, the Cincinnati Planning Commission prepared such an integrated, comprehensive, city plan, the first of its kind in America. Since that time, a number of other large cities have also prepared general, master plans of this sort¹ -- including San Francisco, Cleveland, Detroit, and Richmond, Virginia. Other cities, including Youngstown and Berkeley, have such plans in preparation at the present time. It is curious that so few comprehensive, general plans have been prepared to date in California. The reasons may perhaps be found in the enabling legislation under which city planning has operated.

"A Standard City Planning Enabling Act" was published in 1928 by the United States Department of Commerce under Secretary Herbert Hoover. It was prepared by an Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning and furnished the basis for most of the state enabling legislation enacted in this country. With some modifications it was used as the basis of the California Conservation and Planning Act of 1929. In defining the function of the planning commission, the California Act uses the following language:²

It shall be the function and duty of each planning commission to prepare and adopt a comprehensive, long-term, general plan for the physical development of the city, county, or region, and of any land outside the boundaries thereof which in the commission's judgment bear relation to the planning thereof. Such plan shall be known as the master plan and shall be so

¹The term "general plan" is used in this report to identify the type of master plan which is described here. It is felt that because the term "master plan" is applied to a number of different types of city plans, a separate term is needed in order to facilitate discussion.

²The State Conservation and Planning Act, California Statutes 1947, Chapter 807 and amendments thereto. Article 5, Sections 35-47.

prepared that all or portions thereof may be adopted by the legislative body, . . . as a basis for the development of the city, county, or region for such reasonable period of time next ensuing after the adoption thereof as may practically be covered thereby. The master plan with the accompanying maps, diagrams, charts, descriptive matter and reports shall include such of the following subject matter or portions thereof as are appropriate to the city, county, or region, and as may be made the basis for the physical development thereof.

A master plan may comprise any, all, or any combination of the plans specified in this article. Conservation Plan . . . Land Use Plan . . . Recreation Plan . . . Streets and Highway Plan . . . Transportation Plan . . . Transit Plan . . . Public Services and Facilities . . . Public Buildings . . . Community Design³ . . . Housing . . . Other and additional plans . . .³

The intention of the framers of the legislation is clear. The language was to be sufficiently general as to allow the maximum amount of freedom on the part of the separate communities to conduct their planning activities as they deemed most fit for their particular circumstances. General intentions and general recommendations are included, but the legislators judiciously enacted no rigorous procedure into law.

In accordance with the original intentions, the Act has been interpreted in different ways by different communities, each of them conscientiously attempting to carry out the purposes in accordance with their specialized needs. But, in general, the interpretations have been of three kinds.

One group of planning agencies has felt no need for over-all, comprehensive planning for the physical development of their jurisdictions, and the separate master plans which they have evolved are not intended to comprise a cumulative series of plans which corroborate and supplement one another. Rather they have made plans for only those components which are regarded as problems; and as proposed solutions to specific problems, the plans are specific in their recommendations, limited almost exclusively to the problem under study, and short-range in their application.

A second group of jurisdictions is slowly working toward the time when they will have a series of plans which comprise a comprehensive master plan.

³The California Act was codified in the 1951 session of the Legislature, and although the organization of the sections of the act was changed, no substantive changes were made in the language. See California Government Code, Chapter 334, Title 7, Chapter 1, Article 7, Paragraph 65200 ff.

The third method is that of San Francisco and Berkeley, which have approached their programs by attempting to construct a single, comprehensive, long-term, general plan for the physical development of all elements within their respective jurisdictions. Study and design of each element is carried on during the same period in which the study and design of all other elements is underway, so that upon completion of the plan, proposals are made for all facets of the physical complex of the city. Although allocation of staff time may require that work be done on one study at a time (that after completion of one study, it be temporarily dropped and that another aspect of the city be investigated), no plans are considered to be completed until there has been an opportunity to fit and refit the various aspects of the plan one to the other. San Francisco's general plan, which is now completed, and Berkeley's general plan, which is presently in preparation, thus give recognition to the fact of the inter-relationship of the many component functions and areas of their cities and attempt, in a single concerted effort, to devise a scheme which will integrate all those elements into a working unified whole.

The general plan for San Francisco and those which have been prepared recently by the cities of Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Richmond, and a large number of European cities have seven major defining characteristics in common. These may be discussed briefly in turn.

(1) All portray upon a single set of drawings the commission's recommendations with respect to the approximate locations and scales of the major classes of land use and circulation media. The purposes of portraying all the plan's proposals within a single set of graphic presentation are twofold: it greatly simplifies the relationships illustrated and facilitates the study and design process; and it greatly simplifies the explanation of the plan to the public and thereby facilitates discussion between the planners and the citizens for whom the plan is prepared.

(2) The recently prepared general plans are commonly prepared against a time scale of approximately 20-30 years. It would be highly desirable if the recommendations could be of longer range than this, but the limitations of statistical forecasting techniques impose a limitation upon the accuracy of projections of populations, economic activity, obsolescence of structures, developments in technology and the like. A compromise must be made between the accuracy of projections and hence the validity of the plan, and the desirable longer-range planning. A 20-30 year plan can achieve a meaningful degree of accuracy in its projection-bases; and it can also function as the required realistic guide for a sufficiently long period of time as to serve the needs of public and private investors who build structures which will be amortized over many years.

Not all of the proposals recommended by the plan are anticipated to be realized within the 20-30 year period, however. Because of their great cost or because of their extensive character, some will not be

achieved for perhaps 50 or more years. But they are included within the plan nonetheless, and this is necessarily so. A city, and especially a built-up city, changes very slowly. As obsolete structures are demolished and replaced, as new public works are completed, as private investors develop previously vacant areas, the city's form and character are gradually molded into ever-changing patterns. The plan attempts to recognize these processes and in the most realistic way possible to guide those processes toward the goals which it sets. It is no quick, dream scheme. But it is an imaginative, daring one. And it is content to make its progress slowly.

Hence, for example, a proposal to change a presently mixed industrial area into an exclusively residential area must wait until such time as the existing factory structures become antiquated and may be economically demolished. A proposal to create a city-wide parkway system, such as that recommended for San Francisco, must wait upon the slow acquisition of private lands by the city government. The San Francisco greenbelts may not become a completed reality for some 50 years to come; they are shown in the general plan for the city, however, because they form an integral part of the entire city-wide recreation, trafficways, and residential systems, and the relationships among these latter elements cannot be expressed in the absence of the graphic representation of the parkways.

The general plan is not a scheduled program of development; it is rather a general guide for that development over as long a period of time as can reasonably be predicted. And it will achieve its objectives during as long a period as is necessary.

(3) The common attribute of the comprehensive character of the recent general plans has been suggested elsewhere, and it is sufficient here merely to note that each of the plans recognizes that all activities of the modern city are highly inter-dependent; the plans propose to deal with all of them and to integrate each of them into the future city's physical plant in such a way that the inter-relationships among these various land uses are the best possible.

(4) The representations of these many plan-elements is made in approximate, generalized fashion only. The drawing is not intended to be a precise document but rather to be the guide which indicates the working relationships between kinds of activities of fairly large scale. Thus, for example, the indication of a proposed freeway route which is drawn upon a base map of the city is not intended to indicate the specific location of that freeway. What is intended is the representation that volumes of traffic, which reflect the desires of citizens to move from one place to another and the desires of merchants to move goods from one place to another, is such as to warrant the construction of a trafficway which will support that projected volume of traffic, and that those volumes will require a road of freeway standards. It is then the task of the highway

engineer, the traffic engineer, and other technical specialists to design the freeway, to determine the exact locations for not only the structural elements but for the main roadbed itself. Detailed studies conducted by the engineers may suggest that the freeway should follow a route blocks away from that suggested in the plan; and this is as it is intended. For the detailed kinds of studies which will produce the freeway were not within the province of the planning staff. The studies conducted by the planners indicate only the large-area patterns which the city should develop in the future.

(5) Most of the recent general plans developed by American cities make no attempt to plan the economic and social life of the city, but recognize as their sphere-of-concern only the physical development of the city. To be meaningfully realistic, of course, the physical plan must be based upon thoroughgoing studies of the economic and social characteristics of the present city and upon careful predictions of the future characteristics. Implicitly too, insofar as the plan succeeds in improving the physical plant of the city and of the city's parts, it will have bearing upon the economic and social well-being of the entire community.

(6) Because the city is an ever-changing complex, because the relationships among the various activities and areas which exist today may be quite different in the near future, each of the general plans under discussion is regarded by its developers as being merely the best that their current thinking can produce. It is the intention of each of the city governments involved that a permanent staff of capable planners -- in government -- and that a stable commission of interested citizens shall continue to conduct the same kinds of studies as those which antedated the plan. It is also their intention that in a period of perhaps five years the plan will be revised and that the new version will be adopted as the official policy statement of the city. Thus, as a result of this continuing process of study and revision, the general plan will always be kept up to date. It is unlikely that any single revision will propose many major changes in the original plan; rather, as study and experience progress, adjustments, corrections, refinements can be made. Over an extended period of time the plan may evolve into something quite different from the original version, but the process will be a slow, carefully considered one.

(7) The over-all objective of the general plan is to serve as a guide for the physical development of the city. Whether it is adopted by the legislative body in city government or not (and practice varies in the United States) its proposals are not legal mandates. The plan functions as a statement of policy by the city government and by the citizens it represents. It outlines the kind of city which is desired; it does not establish a legal program for the achievement of that kind of city. These programs are legislated upon completion of the plan and serve to effectuate the proposals which the plan makes. They include the zoning

ordinance, the subdivision ordinance, the capital improvements program, urban redevelopment, and the official plan lines; and although they reflect the plan, they are wholly separate from it. By the judicious application of these legal devices, the proposals made by the plan can over the course of the years become real and tangible elements in the life of the city.

The preparation of a general plan is a major undertaking, requiring a considerable sum of money, a staff of skilled specialists, and usually some four to seven years of work.

The monetary savings are great, however; long-range planning of all capital improvements makes possible the more judicious budgeting of city funds. Proper planning of industrial, commercial, residential, and institutional areas repays itself in greater economic prosperity and in a concomitantly higher tax base. The better living conditions which result for all the citizens repay themselves in better lives, the dollar value of which is rarely, if ever, computable.

But the preparation of such a general plan requires a considerable period of time. During that period the city government and the citizens living and working in the community must make decisions; and, if it be the responsibility of the government, and in particular of the city planning commission, to furnish a guide for those decisions some four to seven years in the future, it is certainly the responsibility of the government to furnish that guide at the present time. It is for this reason that this study attempts to explore the possibilities of the preparation of an interim general plan for the city, to serve until such time as the more thoroughly studied official general plan can be prepared.

II-b. THE NATURE OF THE INTERIM GENERAL PLAN

The study which is described in this report was initiated largely for the purpose of testing one major hypothesis. The hypothesis is this:

If a planning department which had been in operation for several years were to be given a period of a few months, a staff of reasonable size and proficiency, and a budget of modest scale, it would be possible for such a department to produce an interim general plan of sufficient comprehensiveness, thoroughness, and calibre as to serve the community adequately during the few years until an official general plan could be completed.

The conjectural thinking which preceded the formulation of this proposition has been underway for some time among many planners in the state. But although many quick master plans have been prepared by planning consultants, and although unofficial, preliminary study versions of official general plans have been prepared, there are very few examples of officially adopted, interim general plans manifesting all of the characteristics outlined here.

This interim general plan for Berkeley represents an attempt to produce such a plan under conditions which approximate those of the average planning agency. Of course, the real test of the feasibility of the idea must be made in the real situation of an actual planning agency in government, and this avenue of experimentation is not open to a university group. But because the idea is thought to have considerable merit, it is well that the deductive reasoning which underlies the formal hypothesis be summarized.

The Nature of the Interim General Plan

As the official general plan has evolved in American city planning experience and come to be described in law, the proposals which it contains are indicated in generalized fashion only. Scale and location of a shopping center, for example, as illustrated in the plan drawing and in the text which describes the drawing, are approximate only. The plan is not intended to double as a blueprint of the developments which it proposes; rather it is intended to illustrate the over-all relationships which would result from the realization of the plan's proposals with respect to residential densities, with respect to various circulation routings, with respect to industry, with respect to public facilities, etc. It is in this sense of general relationships and of general scales that the plan is an expression of policy by the community with respect to its future physical development. As such, however, it is considerably more than a statement of community wishes.

Were the citizens of the community in some way to reach agreement as to their mutual goals and succeed in preparing a statement which explicitly expressed their wishes, the derivation of a plan would be only slightly nearer to realization than it had been prior to the preparation of the statement. For, to be useful as an instrument for the achievement of those goals, the general plan must be considerably more detailed than a statement to the effect, for example, that retail shopping facilities of given standards should be provided. Some decision must eventually be made with respect to the location of those centers and with respect to the applicability of many given standards to a specific set of circumstances. The desired degree of specificity of a plan can probably not be stated categorically; what can be stated categorically, however, is that the plan should not attempt to fix the exact boundaries of the site and should not fix the pattern of development on the site. It should attempt only to estimate the relative scale,

the relative city-wide locations, the relative intensity of use. To suggest anything more specific is to imply a considerably higher degree of knowledge than is warranted. To suggest anything less is to deny the plan its optimum utility. To suggest the desired degree of specificity, the plan must be based upon a large amount of factual information, an expression of desire by a large number of citizens, and a large measure of intuition. None of these resources is cheaply won.

In the normal course of operation of a city or county planning agency much of the needed factual data is accumulated. Because the properly constituted agency is in continual contact with the public, and because a conscientious staff will usually attempt to encourage citizen participation in its activities, in the normal course of the agency's operation a real sense of citizen desires can often be attained. And, as a consequence of his close contact with the developmental processes and patterns of the community in which he practices, the planner is usually able to achieve a large measure of understanding of the forces at work which shape that community. In order to complete the kind of studies and in order to achieve the kinds of understanding which the preparation of an official general plan requires, these are not enough. But they may be enough, coupled with a concerted goal-directed staff effort, to produce a preliminary version of the official plan.

It is probably true that the planner who has spent a number of years in a city has many imaginative ideas, most of which have never been recorded on paper, which are potentially of great value in guiding the physical development of the city -- a new pattern of trafficways, an improved transit system, a more desirable development in a residential area, a proposal for resuscitating a decaying section of the city, etc. Often he is placed in the position of enforcing a zoning ordinance which he feels does not properly control the distribution of land uses. There are probably but few directors of planning who could not list dozens of major corrections which they would like to see made in their ordinances. And all of these ideas, when placed upon the same drawing and when supplemented by the thinking of his staff, of the commission, and of other informed citizens in the community, may add up to a major portion of a potential comprehensive general plan.

In view of the time element involved in the preparation of an official general plan, and in view of the need for making judicious decisions during the period in which the plan is in preparation, it would seem to be highly desirable that the proposals which have been formulated in the minds of the separate persons be collected and analyzed, fitted and refitted, and that an effort be made to produce a tentative version of the plan which is in process. In all likelihood, most of the over-all patterns will be similar in the two plans. In most cities the distribution of existing land uses, of existing major trafficways, and of existing rail lines set the basic plan for the city; and the function of the general plan is to devise means of improving the built-up sections over a long period of time and of establishing a general guide for the portions which are not yet developed.

But in the interim period during which the official general plan is being prepared, the process of shifting land uses which that plan proposes to redirect may have become so thoroughly established as to be extremely difficult to correct. A fairly typical example may be considered. It may be assumed that there be general agreement that a given strip of commercially zoned land, which is not yet completely developed for commercial use, be reshaped in the plan so as to allow for the development of a modern, centralized shopping group, occupying two solid city blocks, having large off-street parking areas and having unified architecture and landscaping. The present zoning ordinance, typically some years old, and typically having been based upon past land use patterns rather than upon a land use plan, bears no necessary resemblance in its details to the land use plan which is to be proposed. Our example may fairly assume that the plan proposed to shift lands surrounding the existing shopping nucleus from residential to commercial use and maintain the existing commercially zoned, but undeveloped, strip in residential use. Appropriate design of the street and transit systems is also to be proposed in order properly to serve the new shopping center. It should be noted also that the plan would not propose a detailed description of the boundaries of the shopping center or a detailed description of the street systems, but would rather recommend only that the strip be prevented, that the unified type of center be encouraged, and that the location be at the approximate site of the existing core. The zoning ordinance which follows the plan would then, of course, define the district lines, perhaps shifting them over a period of years through a series of amendments in order to achieve the desired goal. The plan would show only the goal.

But, if in the months or years during which the official plan is in the making, the zoned commercial strip should be developed (and there would be no legal way of preventing that development) it would become extremely difficult to achieve the objective. The newer buildings being of more modern design and involving a much greater investment than those in the old nucleus may instead cause the decline of the nucleus and shift the core of shopping activity far from the general location in which it would most satisfactorily serve the citizens in the area. An interim general plan and an interim zoning ordinance reflecting that plan could have effectively prevented development, and could instead have furthered the objectives of the official general plan, even prior to its completion.

It is of course to be anticipated that the more thoroughgoing study which would be devoted to the making of the official plan would yield much better solutions to the many specific problems of the city and that its proposals would recommend much more substantial (and better substantiated) changes and improvements than the interim plan will propose; and this is to be desired. The recommendations made by the interim plan must necessarily be much more modest than those of its successor, having been based upon only preliminary study. Because the studies which precede it are less thoroughgoing,

the recommendations will be less certain, less detailed. But, it should not yield completely to its modesty lest it sacrifice potential fertility.

Perhaps one of the most fertile attributes of the interim plan is its potential ability to encourage citizen thinking and interest in the planning process and in the physical development of the community. The public discussion, which would normally result from the public hearings preceding the adoption of the interim plan by the commission and by the legislative body, would unquestionably have the effect of increasing the degree of citizen participation in the planning process. Those imaginative, big schemes which the plan contains would tend to inspire the enthusiasm of the citizenry, tend thereby to increase support of the planning agency's activities. And many of the proposals, large and small, will encourage the merchant, the home owner and the tenant, the industrialist, and many others to come into the planning office and make known his wishes and his problems. Without this kind of citizen interest and the kind of communication which that interest makes possible, a planning program and the plan which it produces tend to be sterile. If planning be for the people, it must necessarily be of them. The interim plan would encourage that kind of democratic planning.

Of course, the test of a democratic plan is the way in which the community responds to it. By publishing a preview, as it were, of the official plan, the planning agency invites the public in to criticize its thinking, to make recommendations for improvement, to add to its proposals, to delete those which the public does not approve. In this process of criticism, avenues of investigation which had not been previously scheduled might assume greater importance. Recommendations with which the public may immediately take issue, may in the course of discussion on this preliminary basis come to take on more meaning and they may then come to support them. Furthermore, insofar as the plan would be published for all to read, it might also profit from the criticisms of other professional planners in other cities. And the net effect of criticism can only be positive. The interim general plan might thus serve as a proving ground out of which the official general plan can grow with stronger roots.

It is this line of thought which has suggested the initial hypothesis with respect to the feasibility of the interim general plan. But the major factor contributing to the decision to experiment in the actual preparation of such a plan is the need for a basis for decision by both private and public agencies. It is this need for an immediate basis for decision which induces most planning commissions to prepare separate plans for the many functional elements of their cities. But, since all physical elements within the city are highly interdependent, an adequate basis must project all those elements ahead into the future; and the projection must moreover integrate all those elements into a working, unified community. Since it seems to be a universal law that the time of decision is always now, and since the preparation of the official general plan is a time-consuming task, the question which is raised is again this: "If a planning department which had

been in operation for a few years were to be given a period of a few months, a staff of average proficiency, and a budget of modest scale, would it be possible to produce an interim general plan of sufficient comprehensiveness, thoroughness, and calibre to serve the community adequately until such time as an official general plan could be completed?"

Berkeley as the Case Study

As the sample case upon which the hypothesis was to be tested, it was necessary at the outset to select a fairly typical city, and for study purposes the City of Berkeley was chosen. A major factor in its selection was, of course, its convenience, being the site of the University of California. But it had other attractions which qualified it well for the kind of investigation which was proposed. A number of student projects which had been completed in the first year of the curriculum had been concerned with specialized aspects of the Berkeley scene, and as a consequence the students were relatively at home in Berkeley planning. A number of the students who were involved in the study had been employed on part-time or on temporary bases in the Berkeley City Planning Department. They were thus familiar with much of the work that had been already completed by the Berkeley department, were familiar with the filed materials, and generally had a sense of understanding of the planning program in that city. And too, the fact that all the students had lived in Berkeley for at least one year contributed to their general sense of familiarity with the city. It was felt that some degree of understanding by the planning staff of the character and of the problems of the city would be critical to the preparation of an interim plan; and since the study was to be conducted by a student group, Berkeley offered the closest approximation possible to the real situation of an established planning staff which had worked in a local office for a few years. The fact that one of the faculty directors of the research project, Professor Kent, is also a member of the Berkeley City Planning Commission and has consequently been in close contact with the planning program in Berkeley, further contributed toward this end.

There were other factors which favored the selection of Berkeley as the subject for the case study. Its Director of Planning, Corwin R. Mocine, had expressed interest in the project and had offered to make his services and his files available to the student staff. The Planning Commission, the City Manager and the heads of the city departments had also expressed interest in the study, and they too offered their cooperation in the effort.

Berkeley's planning program, like that of most cities in California, is young. The budget for a permanent staff was established in 1949, and it was at this time that a capable, experienced planner was employed for the first time to organize and direct a continuing planning program. In this sense, Berkeley is comparable to many other

cities; for having been in operation with a small staff¹ for only two and one-half years, it has accumulated a relatively small amount of basic information, as compared to those cities with older agencies and to those with large staffs.

In one respect, on the other hand, Berkeley is non-typical. Being physically surrounded on three sides by other jurisdictions and on the fourth by water, it has no new areas into which to expand, other than the submerged lands of the bay. In addition, its lands have been almost completely developed, there being only two small areas which presently contain any appreciable amount of vacant property. As the result of these two factors, many of the problems and issues which Berkeley has to face are different from those of cities having large areas of open lands on their outskirts. The fact, further, that Berkeley is centrally located in the midst of the East Bay metropolitan complex distinguishes it from those cities located in the interior of the state and from those outside of major metropolitan districts. Those factors must be kept in mind in evaluating the degree of success of the Berkeley study; however, it must also be kept in mind that it is the procedural aspects of this study which are of most pertinence; the substantive aspects must inevitably vary from city to city. In one real sense, all cities are unique and none are typical in all respects.

There is one respect, however, in which Berkeley is probably very similar to most cities of comparable size in the state. Faced with a zoning ordinance which was drawn in the absence of a land use plan, it finds its land use patterns to be developing in a manner which is different from that which is desired; and because the city is highly "over-zoned," it finds itself unable to deal with the problem in an effective manner.

Among its provisions, the zoning ordinance allows for the construction of six-story apartment houses over almost all those portions of the city which are on relatively flat lands. The R-3 and R-4 residential districts both allow such development, and they jointly comprise 54 per cent of all lands presently zoned for residential use. (See Plate 5.) A study conducted by the planning commission in 1951 indicated that the holding capacity of the city, as expressed by the zoning ordinance is some 889,500 persons. The 1950 population was 113,805.

The point of departure of this study is this problem of controlling the pattern of residential development. In the initial prospectus which was prepared by Professor Kent and given to the student staff in September 1951, the task was stated in the following terms:

¹The staff is composed of 6.5 persons: the Director, 1 Zoning Analyst, 1 Planning Technician, 1.5 Junior Planning Technicians, 1 Senior Stenographer-Clerk, 1 Intermediate Stenographer-Clerk.

It will be assumed for the purposes of this student study that a problem of city-wide importance -- the need for the reduction of the R-3 zone -- has reached the point where a recommendation from the Planning Commission will be required in the near future. It will also be assumed that the Commission, together with several other important groups in the community, is no longer willing, as it had been in the past when it had no staff, to make recommendations on a matter of such importance for the future of Berkeley without also presenting to the people of the community its ideas as to the nature of the future city it has in mind. Thus a preliminary master plan (interim general plan) must be prepared in form suitable for consideration by groups and individual citizens. It must also be in form suitable for later adoption by the City Planning Commission.

An official general plan is presently being prepared by the Berkeley City Planning Commission and its staff, but it will be some time before the studies and designs which must precede the plan can be completed. In the interim period, before the plan is completed, the city government and the citizens of the city must continue to make day-to-day and many long-range decisions. They must have some immediate basis for those decisions.

It is, thus, in an attempt to investigate the possibility of the formulation of an interim general plan, fitted to the specific complex of circumstances which exist in the City of Berkeley, that the study which is described in the pages that follow was conducted.

Because it is the control of residential land uses which is the most critical problem facing the city and the planning commission, this study has focussed its attention upon that issue. It submits the residential portions of the plan as its most tenable proposals. Other factors have been treated less thoroughly, and hence they are more tentative in nature. It is assumed that the studies and designs which will follow in the continued work toward an official general plan will more thoroughly investigate those functional elements of the city which have been given less intensive treatment here. It is also anticipated, of course, that the residential areas will be submitted to a great deal of further study as well; however, it is believed that the proposals for residential areas will not require drastic revisions.

III. A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY ON THE EVOLUTION OF AN IDEA

Introduction

T. J. Kent, Jr. defines the general plan as "the unified statement, written and graphic, of the long-range, comprehensive, general policies and physical design of the legislative body as to the desirable future physical development of the community," (p. 8). Keeping this definition in mind, the compiler has attempted to link together, in the form of a bibliographic essay, some of the major evolutionary steps in the formation of an urban general plan theory. The academician will immediately recognize the difficulties in attempting to "pull out" the significant writings on this subject. City planning's early leaders viewed the city essentially as "mechanistic." Their backgrounds being in architecture and engineering, it is not surprising that this should be so. What is surprising, perhaps, is that these professions should so long have dominated the field. Only in recent years have social scientists' analytical techniques found universal application in city planning and come to be essential tools in the professional planner's equipment, with the result that the "mechanistic" view has been "humanized" and social values placed in better balance. The compiler recognizes that a severe limitation of this bibliography is that it emphasizes what might be called the "operational function and content" of general plan theory; it thus picks up only a few critical threads of the social scientist and virtually ignores a body of work which needs further exploration.

Because the compiler is treating the evolution of an idea, the subject is approached in the traditional manner of the historian -- chronologically. It is realized, of course, that this method has certain problems in that no idea simply "pops out," whole and new born, without a long period of gestation and that often it is difficult to say when, in the time scale, an idea becomes influential. In most instances, however, date of publication can be assumed to be the effective date of transmission, and this date is used throughout the bibliography.

Another important limitation of this bibliography is that it deals only with the United States. Obviously, as any historian will be quick to criticize, the germ of the "city plan" as a concept goes back, at least, to Hippodamus of Miletus (born c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps may be traced back much earlier to the civilizations lying along the Tigris-Euphrates and Nile Rivers.

The compiler is indebted to T. J. Kent, Jr., who not only made a number of helpful suggestions, but gave the author permission to quote from his manuscript. Melvin Webber also helped to clarify a number of points. The final product, however, is solely the responsibility of the bibliographer.

General References

To appreciate the significance of the general plan concept one must first become acquainted with the broad sweep of town and city development in the United States and, more specifically, early American attempts to plan the municipal domicile. The first 21 references, thus, set the stage.

Adams, Thomas. Outline of Town and City Planning; A Review of Past Efforts and Modern Aims. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1935. 368 p.

This is an excellent summary of evolution of city planning in the United States. See particularly pp. 118-129, pp. 161-251 for developments before and after 1900.

Tunnard, Christopher, and Henry Hope Reed. American Skyline; The Growth and Form of Our Cities and Towns. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1955. 302 p.

The thesis of this interesting book is that the American city is very much the product of definite forces which have given it a unique form and pattern. These forces and their consequences are traced from the colonial mercantile town of the 1600-1700's to the regional city of the mid-twentieth century.

Green, Constance M. American Cities in the Growth of the Nation. New York, John de Graff, 1957. 258 p.

Brief historical sketches of the rise of certain characteristic American cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, Holyoke, Naugatuck, Chicago, Denver, Wichita, Seattle, Detroit, and Washington, D. C.

Bridenbaugh, Carl. Cities in the Wilderness; The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. 2nd edition. New York, Alfred Knopf, 1955. 500 p.

----. Cities in Revolt; Urban Life in America, 1743-1776. New York, Alfred Knopf, 1955. 434 p.

The first of these two thoroughly documented studies emphasizes the evolution of democratic urban life in the five largest towns on the North American continent, while the second recognizes two persistent themes: "The astonishing expansion of all the activities of urban existence" and the revolt of urban citizens with the "old" ways of doing things.

Wade, Richard C. The Urban Frontier; The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959. 360 p. (Harvard Historical Monograph no. 41.)

An account of the rise and development of Ohio Valley cities -- Pittsburgh to St. Louis.

Schlesinger, Arthur Meier. The Rise of the City, 1878-1898. New York, Macmillan, 1933. 494 p. (A History of American Life, vol. 10.)

The author contends that these two decades mark the era of decision between an essentially urban world and a rural world.

Conklin, Paul K. Tomorrow a New World; The New Deal Community Program. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1959. 350 p.

A history of the New Deal community program with background material on the influence of the garden city movement.

Comey, Arthur C., and Max S. Wehrly, "Planned Communities," in Urban Planning and Land Policies; volume II of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1939. pp. 1-161.

Case studies of 144 communities which "have actually been constructed from the start according to a more or less comprehensive physical plan." Selected bibliography, pp. 153-161.

Mackesey, Thomas W. History of City Planning. Oakland, Council of Planning Librarians, 1961. 65 p. (Exchange Bibliography no. 19.)

A selected bibliography by a Cornell University professor. See particularly pp. 35-49.

a. References on City Plan Progress in the United States

Meyer, H. H. B., editor, "Check List of References on City Planning," Special Libraries, v. 3 (May, 1912), pp. 61-123.

General references and listings by localities. Section on periodical articles with the first entry dated 1861.

American Institute of Architects. Committee on Town Planning. City Planning Progress in the United States, 1917, edited by George B. Ford. Washington, D. C., Journal of the American Institute of Architects, 1917. 207 p.

The first comprehensive review of city planning progress.

Kimball, Theodore, editor. Municipal Accomplishment in City Planning and Published City Plan Reports in the United States. Published under the auspices of the National Conference on City Planning, 1920. 79 p.

Compiled largely from data assembled by the Detroit City Plan Commission.

Nolen, John, "Twenty Years of City Planning Progress in the United States: President's Address," Proceedings of the 19th National Conference on City Planning, 1927, pp. 1-44.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Civic Development Department. City Planning and Zoning Accomplishments. Washington, D. C., 1928. 102 p. mimeo.

Hubbard, Theodore K., and Henry Vincent Hubbard. Our Cities Today and Tomorrow; A Survey of Planning and Zoning Progress in the United States. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929. 389 p.

Based on field surveys made by Howard K. Menhinick who visited about 120 cities and 15 counties and regions in all parts of the United States.

"Short List of Typical American City Plan Reports," in Manual of Information on City Planning and Zoning, by Theodore Kimball (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1923), pp. 43-46; and in Planning Information Up-to-Date, by Theodore K. Hubbard and Katherine McNamara (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 12-14.

An excellent selected list of representative plan reports "notable as exemplifying general principles of city planning or as a collection of highly specialized illustrations or statistics . . ."

¹How Cities Are Preparing for the Post-War Period,"
Planning; Proceedings of the Annual Meeting Held
in Chicago, May 1-3, 1944. Chicago, American
Society of Planning Officials, 1944. pp. 31-117.

A review of planning progress and future programs in 16 cities over 300,000, 4 cities under 50,000, and 4 cities between 50,000 - 300,000 population.

b. Annual Review of City Planning Progress in Periodicals of the Period

Landscape Architecture: April, 1912; April 1913;
January, 1915; January, 1918; January, 1920;
January, 1921; January, 1922; January, 1923;
and January, 1924.

National Municipal Review: January, 1913; July, 1914;
July, 1915; July and October, 1916; September,
1917; November, 1918; January, 1920; January,
1921; January, 1922; and February, 1923.

City Planning: April, 1925; April, 1926; April, 1927;
April, 1928; April, 1929; July, 1930; April, 1931;
April, 1932; April, 1933; and April, 1934.

Evolution of an Idea

Almost from the day the first colonist stepped ashore in the New World, town planning became a necessary part of survival. Between 1630 and 1650 seven New England villages were laid out and many others soon followed. Although in some cases we do not know who these early planners were, it is apparent from the original plan drawings still extant that a concept of "town plan" as a vehicle for decisions about private and public uses of the land must have existed. Certainly these plans were not general, long-range, or comprehensive in the modern sense, but they were plans that established patterns -- and in some cases these patterns are still predominant in the Twentieth Century city. L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D. C. is an outstanding example of this as is James Oglethorpe's layout of Savannah, Georgia.

With the many examples of early plans in colonial America, it seems all the more incredible that it should remain until the latter part of the nineteenth century for a planner to state, "When a man or company wish to begin a new or valuable business, they can adopt their wants to the city plan." Yet, according to Thomas Adams (Outline . . ., p. 171), Robert Morris Copeland was "probably" the first to use the phrase, "city plan," in this way. We, therefore, cite his

"general plan" -- so the drawing is marked -- as one of the early statements of the use of a plan. To Copeland, it was "fallacious" that one could not "foresee sufficiently the future requirements of business to wisely provide for them."

Copeland, Robert Morris. The Most Beautiful City in America; Essay and Plan for the Improvement of the City of Boston. Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1872. 46 p.

Certainly other early plans for American cities could be cited, but in the period prior to the modern image of the general plan, perhaps only one other need be mentioned. Following the classic World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, business leaders in Chicago became convinced that their city needed a plan. They turned to Daniel Burnham who had been the leading spirit behind the fair and whose experience subsequently had included the preparation of plans for Manila and San Francisco. The happy result was "the first comprehensive plan for the orderly development of a great American city" -- a plan destined to have an impact far and wide on city planning in this country.

Burnham, Daniel H., and Edward H. Bennett. Plan of Chicago Prepared During the Years MCMVI, MCMVII, and MCMVIII, edited by Charles Moore. Chicago, Commercial Club, 1909. 164 p.

See also the interesting article by Robert L. Wrigley, Jr., "The Plan of Chicago: Its Fiftieth Anniversary," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 26, February 1960, pp. 31-38, and the special issue of Architectural Forum, vol. 116, May 1962, which is entirely devoted to Chicago and its shaping by Burnham.

But although Burnham's Chicago plan was comprehensive, it was not in any sense a general plan by modern definition. For the genesis of the modern concept we must turn to a famous name in landscape design and city planning -- Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., son of the man who first proposed preservation principles for Yosemite Valley and whose best known work is Central Park in New York City. The son, whose training at the hands of his father must have been exemplary, expressed his ideas in two addresses before the National Conference on City Planning: The city plan is a live, flexible document for the "intelligent control and guidance of the entire physical growth and alteration of cities." It should embrace "all the problems of relieving and avoiding congestion" as well as providing a forecast of "the probable future requirements of land for collective uses," and, finally, it is "a device or piece of administrative machinery for preparing and keeping constantly up to date, a unified forecast and definition of all the important changes, additions, and extensions of the physical equipment and

arrangement of the city which a sound judgment holds likely to become desirable and practicable in the course of time . . ."

Olmsted, Frederick Law, Jr., "Reply in Behalf of the City Planning Conference," Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning, Philadelphia May 15-17, 1911. Boston, 1911. pp. 3-13.

----, "A City Planning Program," Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on City Planning, Chicago, May 5-7, 1913. pp. 1-16.

----, "Introduction," in John Nolen, editor, City Planning; A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1916. (See also revision published in 1929.)

Two contemporaries of Olmsted, Jr., shared in the development of the general plan concept. One of these was Edward M. Bassett, seven years his senior, who, as Chairman of the New York City Heights of Buildings Commission and the related Commission on Building Districts and Restrictions (1913-1916) as well as the Zoning Commission (1916-1917), was very influential in establishing the nation's first comprehensive zoning ordinance. Although reports of these Commissions and his own speeches before the various sessions of the National Conference on City Planning reveal a lawyer's analytical approach to zoning problems, he apparently was also developing his concept of the master plan during this early period. This is first clearly stated in a small publication of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs in which he introduces his notion of the master plan as a guide for comprehensive planning to be more fully explored in his book published twelve years later.

Bassett, Edward M. Recent New York Legislation for the Planning of Unbuilt Areas, Comprising the Text of the City and Village Planning Laws of the State of New York, a Description of Their Origin and Purposes, and Suggestions as to How They Should Be Administered. New York, Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 1926. 30 p. (Bulletin no. 11.)

The second contemporary of Olmsted was Alfred Bettman, three years his junior. As a leader in Cincinnati civic and political life he became convinced of the need for city planning and brought to the task his broad understanding of civic affairs and specialized knowledge of the law. Thus, although Bettman's training and experience was very different from Olmsted's, the two men developed very similar thoughts about the master plan, and, as Kent has pointed out, undoubtedly were influenced and stimulated by one another. Bettman's chief contribution, at this period, was his clear understanding of the essential technical elements of the plan.

Bettman, Alfred, "The Relationship of the Functions and Powers of the City Planning Commission, to the Legislative, Executive, and Administrative Departments of City Government," Planning Problems of Town, City, and Region; Papers and Discussions at the Twentieth National Conference on City Planning Held at Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, May 7 to 10, 1928. pp. 142-159.

The next step in the evolutionary process was the appointment by U. S. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover of a nine-man Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning. Olmsted, Bassett, and Bettman were members of this Committee and share, in large part, responsibility for key statements in this influential document. The significance of the Standard Act is recognized by later writers on city planning legislation and administration, particularly Robert Walker and T. J. Kent, Jr. The latter writer is the first, however, to set forth the thesis that the Standard Act contributed greatly to the confusion in the city planning profession during the subsequent two decades, thus delaying by some twenty years a full realization of the essential content and legislative role of the general plan.

U. S. Department of Commerce. Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning. A Standard City Planning Enabling Act. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1928. 54 p.

The immediate effect of the Standard Act was to encourage a number of state enabling acts and revisions, patterned in large part after it. Nevertheless, progress toward refinement of the general plan concept continued to be made. Bettman sharpened his own ideas of the master plan and, in 1931, clearly distinguished between the master plan and official map:

The master plan and official map are therefore two different concepts, with different purposes and results. They are different in time, the master plan necessarily preceding the official map, which is of greater degree of definiteness and involves a greater degree of surveying and engineering detail which, as a practical matter, becomes justified only as the means of the carrying out of the master plan and therefore necessarily made subsequent to the master plan and at a time nearer to the actual time intended for the accomplishment of the planned improvement.

Bettman, Alfred, "City Planning Legislation," in John Nolen, Editor, City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1929, pp. 431-471

Bettman, Alfred, "Master Plans and Official Maps," Planning Problems of Town, City, and Region; Papers and Discussions at the Twenty-Third National Conference on City Planning Held at Rochester, N. Y., June 22 to 24, 1931. pp. 50-71. Reprinted in City and Regional Planning Papers, edited by Arthur C. Comey (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 37-41.

In 1935, four planning-minded lawyers published a definitive set of model laws for planning cities, counties, and states. Bettman re-emphasized the contrast between master plan and official map, calling the former a "plastic" document, the latter a "rigid" one. The term "master plan" was defined (p. 40, etc.), but perhaps the most valuable contribution to an understanding of the concept was Bettman's discussion, pp. 57-62, 77-78, 95-96, and 115-117.

Bassett, Edward M., Frank B. Williams, Alfred Bettman, and Robert Whitten. Model Laws for Planning Cities, Counties, and States Including Zoning, Subdivision Regulation, and Protection of Official Map. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935. 137 p.

By the latter half of the depression decade, the master plan concept as a "guide for comprehensive planning" had advanced far enough so that one of its first advocates felt he could devote an entire volume to the subject. Bassett's study is basic to an understanding of the evolution of the master plan concept, particularly pp. 61-143. The author discusses the needs and purpose of the master plan, what it should contain, and the development of the term. Cincinnati, says Bassett, was the first city to appoint a planning commission with power to establish a master plan and was the first large city officially to adopt its plan (1925); however, wide-spread use of the term "master plan" did not come until after the publication of the Standard Act (1928) which set the pattern of state enabling legislation for several years to follow. Bassett discusses the Standard Act and confusions arising from it; this is followed by a discussion of several state and local acts which introduced modifications (the Pennsylvania, California, Massachusetts, New York enabling legislation for counties and the New York City Charter effective on November 3, 1936).

Bassett, Edward M. The Master Plan; With a Discussion of the Theory of Community Land Planning Legislation. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1938. 151 p.

Just prior to America's entry into the war, Professor Robert A. Walker, then an Associate Administrative Analyst, Office of Budget and Finance, U.S. Department of Agriculture, published his influential

book in which he undertook the task of analyzing the composition of planning boards in an attempt to determine why they had not met with greater success. His book adds very little to general plan theory (see pp. 119-122), but his indictment of the lay commission in planning and his preoccupation with city planning as a line department in municipal government has influenced a whole new generation of professional city planners. In 1950 Walker reissued his book with two new chapters, one on "Developments During World War II and its Aftermath" and another reappraising the nature of the planning function.

The second edition brought forward a number of critical comments. Rexford Tugwell, former Governor of Puerto Rico and an influential figure in the New Deal days of the Resettlement Administration, and a political scientist, Edward C. Banfield, suggested that there may be another "conception of the planning profession, if not its practice," called "developmental planning." John T. Howard, Chairman of the Department of City and Regional Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, disagreed with both Walker and his reviewers in his "Defense of the Planning Commission."

Walker, Robert Averill. The Planning Function in Urban Government. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. 376 p. (Social Science Studies no. 39.) 2nd edition, 1950.

Tugwell, R. G., and E. C. Banfield, "The Planning Function Reappraised," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 17 (Winter, 1951), pp. 46-49.

Howard, John T., "In Defense of Planning Commissions," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 17 (Spring, 1951), pp. 89-94.

Also to make its appearance just as war engulfed the United States was Ladislav Segoe's Local Planning Administration published by the International City Managers' Association. This book, now in its third edition, edited by Mary McLean and considerably changed from the original 1941 printing, strengthened the Walker thesis during the important expansion decade of the fifties following the war.

Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, Chicago. Local Planning Administration, by Ladislav Segoe with the collaboration of Walter F. Blucher, F. P. Best, and others. Chicago, 1941. 684 p. 3rd edition edited by Mary McLean, Chicago, 1959. 467 p.

After several years of experience with the Standard Act and its consequences, Bettman reversed a position he had held earlier and wrote into his draft of a model urban redevelopment act, prepared as

Chairman of the American Society of Planning Officials' Committee on Urban Redevelopment, a definition of the essential physical elements of the general plan. Two years later the model act was issued in revised form.

"Report of the Committee on Urban Redevelopment"
at the annual Business Meeting, American
Society of Planning Officials, Planning, 1943; Pro-
ceedings of the Annual Meeting Held in New York
City, May 17-19, 1943. Chicago, American Society
of Planning Officials, 1943, pp. 93-103.

Bettman, Alfred. Draft of an Act for Urban Development
and Redevelopment. Chicago, American Society of
Planning Officials, 1943. 14 p. mimeo.

----. "Revised Draft of an Act for Urban Development and
Redevelopment," in Arthur C. Comey, editor, City and
Regional Planning Papers. (Cambridge, Harvard Uni-
versity Press, 1946), pp. 259-275.

Post-War Experience

With the end of World War II in 1945 and the subsequent national readjustment of this country's economic and social life, cities faced a sudden upsurge in the need for city planning and construction of public works of all kinds. Professional planners and educators began to take a hard look at planning's new-found status; they began to question old concepts and, at the same time, to evolve new procedures and methods. The influence, too, of the federal government in making funds available for redevelopment and urban planning stimulated thinking significantly. It is no wonder, then, that the decade of the fifties produced a number of excellent contributions to urban general plan theory and practice, perhaps one of the most significant being Cincinnati's new general plan of 1948, the first large city plan to be adopted by a City Council.

Cincinnati (Ohio) City Planning Commission. The Cincin-
nati Metropolitan Master Plan and the Official City
Plan of the City of Cincinnati, adopted November 22,
1948. Cincinnati, 1948. 175 p.

After five years of debate, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949 on July 15. Although subsequent legislation, particularly that of 1954, considerably modified provisions relating to urban renewal and planning, this Act contained the first federal approach to the idea of the general plan. Section 105, Title I, required that the redevelopment

plan conform "to a general plan for the development of the locality as a whole." However, no definition of a general plan was included in the Act. As the Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment began to put Title I into operation, the Housing and Home Finance Agency found it necessary to call in S. B. Zisman and others to define the elements necessary for a general plan. The result of this work was published first as a departmental memorandum and more formally stated in the Division's manual.

U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment. The General Community Plan -- A Preliminary Statement. Washington, D. C., 1950.

U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Office of the Administrator. Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment Program; Manual of Policies and Requirements for Local Public Agencies. Book I, Part 2, Chapter 2, "Community Planning," Section 2, "The General Plan." 3 p. loose-leaf.

While federal personnel labored over the application of the general plan concept to redevelopment plans and procedures, a practical planner with many years' experience and a professional society publicly stated their views. Bartholomew urged that the planner not lose sight of his major task -- the production of a good city plan. He discusses his concept of what the "good" city plan should contain and has a number of things to say about the timing and production of planning documents. The following year the Board of Governors of the American Institute of Planners officially endorsed the draft of a booklet on city planning which was subsequently published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Bartholomew, Harland, "The Plan -- Its Preparation, Composition, and Form," American Planning and Civic Annual, 1951. Washington, D. C., 1951. pp. 97-102.

Reprinted in Herbert L. Marx, Jr., Community Planning (N. Y., Wilson, 1956), as vol. 28, no. 4, of the Reference Shelf, pp. 72-79.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Construction and Civic Development Department. City Planning and Urban Development. Washington, D. C., 1952. 47 p.

A concise statement of the nature and purpose of the general plan in contrast to the "official map" appears on pp. 23-24.

Zisman's contribution has already been referred to. Meanwhile, Professor Kent and a group of graduate students were involved in group exercises culminating in the student report reproduced in part on pages 4 to 21 of this bibliography. One of these students, Melvin Webber, an Associate Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, added substantially to the general plan concept, ideas later developed more fully by Black and Kent himself. In 1954 Kent addressed the California Biennial Institute of Mayors and Councilmen, and for the first time outlined his ideas on the legislative functions of the general plan.

Zisman, S. B., The General Plan in the Redevelopment Program. Chicago, National Association of Housing Officials, November, 1952. 8 p. (Redevelopment Information Service Publication no. 5.)

The author stresses "the fact that ultimately the best redevelopment grows out of, and is in fact part of, the general plan."

Webber, Melvin M. The Nature and Function of the Urban General Plan. University of California, Berkeley. 1952. 80 p. M. C. P. Thesis.

Kent, T. J., Jr., "Guiding City Development: A Major Responsibility of the City Council," Proceedings, 4th Biennial Institute of Mayors and Councilmen. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1954. 17 p.

The legislative break from the Standard Act in California came in 1955 with the adoption of an amendment to the city and county planning enabling act which explicitly defined the essential physical elements of the general plan (Article 7). Citizen awareness of the new California concept was enhanced with a colorful and well illustrated brochure on city planning.

California. Laws, Statutes, etc. Laws Relating to Conservation, Planning, and Zoning ... Sacramento, Printing Division, 1955. 146 p.

See particularly pp. 9-11.

California. Assembly. Interim Committee on Conservation, Planning and Public Works. Planning for Growth; A Report on the Status of City and Regional Planning in California. Sacramento, Legislative Bill Room, 1955. 84 p.

See particularly pp. 22-23 ("Nature and Function of the Master Plan"), pp. 24-25 ("Steps in Preparing the Master Plan" and "Elements of the Master Plan"), and pp. 26-31 for examples of experience in Berkeley, Richmond, and Los Altos, California

The history of the general plan concept indicates that the lawyer is in a peculiarly advantageous position to contribute to the theory of city planning. Bassett, Bettman, Frank B. Williams, and more recently, Charles M. Haar have made major contributions. Among these, the latter has been most influential in his writings on the general plan. Haar emphasizes that the content of the master plan has changed from strict adherence to seven activities as proposed by Bassett to broader concepts including classifications which are co-extensive with the responsibilities of the local planning agency. The influence of federal agencies in setting up standards as a prerequisite for financial aid, says Haar, is exerting pressures "from the top" and is going to have an increasing effect on the content. The author discusses these tendencies and concludes that they are the result of a growing realization of interdependence of modern society on all activities affecting land use. In a second article, published the same year, Haar discusses the concepts of the master plan, what the master plan means to the planner, what it means to property interests, the criteria for a statutory checklist, and the written master plan.

Haar, Charles M., "The Content of the Master Plan: A Glance at History," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 21 (Spring-Summer, 1955), pp. 66-70.

----, "The Master Plan: An Impermanent Constitution," Law and Contemporary Problems, vol. 20 (Summer, 1955), pp. 353-418.

Contains a valuable appendix summarizing information on planning commissions, preparation of master plans, content, and analyzing the acts in terms of how they translate plans into action. A fifth chart deals with the legal impact of the master plan.

In 1956 the Cambridge firm of Adams, Howard and Greeley was commissioned to survey the work program, functions, and organization of the Los Angeles Department of City Planning and to recommend ways of improving the effectiveness of the Department and its program. Although the city had had an active planning program for many years, its failure to produce a general plan led to confusion and uncertainty, said the consultants. It is not surprising, therefore, that this analysis -- especially in light of the background and experience of the three members of the firm -- strongly recommended the preparation and adoption of "a single master plan" and emphasized this by adding, "and cease the misleading practice of identifying each component plan as itself a master plan."

Adams, Howard and Greeley. Report to the Board of City Planning Commissioners, City of Los Angeles, on the Los Angeles City Planning Department. Cambridge, November 1956. 175 p.

Two other lawyers who examine the content of the general plan and whose analysis is especially revealing are J. B. Milner and Allison Dunham. Milner critically discusses the legal and administrative problems of the master plan, stressing its importance as a significant legal document distinct from and equal to zoning law and subdivision control; he reviews Canadian practice and shows how confusion has arisen regarding the role of the master plan. Dunham's analysis attempts to reconstruct a theory of the master plan in order to make clear the separation of the responsibilities of a "central planner" from those of a departmental official and of a private landowner. He criticizes Bassett's concept as "too narrow because it excludes from city planning all development plans ... (other than location) of public and private users of land resources; too physical because it emphasizes location and thereby ignores numerous socio-economic forces; too rigid because a city is a dynamic place; and too detailed because a master plan ought to be confined more to general principles." While the author claims that recent city planning literature shows a marked tendency to depart from the Bassett view (in part due to the planner's confusion over the terms "plan," "forecast," and "proposal"), he also feels that there is a theory which supports Bassett. The key to Bassett's concept, writes Dunham, is the factor of external impact of one public work upon another, although he also stresses the zoning plan as a device which determines "where various types of private development should not be located." Dunham develops this thesis to show that "what is needed is a philosophy delineating the reasons for interference by central planners with the decisions of others."

Milner, J. B., "Introduction to Master Plan Legislation," Canadian Bar Review, vol. 35 (December, 1957), pp. 1125-1175.

Dunham, Allison, "City Planning: An Analysis of the Content of the Master Plan," Journal of Law and Economics, vol. 1 (October, 1958), pp. 170-186.

Like his partner, Harland Bartholomew, Eldridge Lovelace believes the fundamental job of the planner is to prepare a city plan; indeed, he believes so strongly in this central concept that he urges the title, "Director of the City Plan," for the chief planning officer. On the other hand, Dennis O'Harrow, Executive Director, American Society of Planning Officials, takes quite a different view.

Lovelace, Eldridge, "1. You Can't Have Planning Without a Plan. 2. Needed: One-Dimensional City Plans. 3. The Flexible City Plan is No City Plan at All," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 24, no. 1 (1958), pp. 7-10.

O'Harrow, Dennis, "Magic and Master Plans," American Society of Planning Officials Newsletter, vol. 25 (February, 1959), p. 9.

See also the April, 1959, issue for reactions.

Hugh Pomeroy, Director of Planning for Westchester County, New York, at the time of his death, shares with T. J. Kent, Jr., the idea that the master plan is an essential guide for its chief client, the city council. Kent's teaching colleagues, Francis Violich and Corwin Mocine also share his concepts about objectives, organization, and procedures; but the former, of course, applies them to very different local government situations in Latin America.

Pomeroy, Hugh R., The Master Plan -- Its Importance and Its Implementation. Address given before the Pennsylvania Planning Association Annual Meeting and the Local Government Conference on Planning, Philadelphia, November 14, 1958. 20 p. mimeo.

Violich, Francis. The Urban General Plan as an Instrument for Guiding Urban Development; a Working Outline for the Seminar on Urban Planning, Inter-American Housing and Planning Center, Bogota, Colombia, October 5 to 30, 1958. Berkeley, Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, May 1, 1958. 27 p. mimeo.

Mocine, Corwin R., "The Master Plan -- Its Form and Function," Arizona Review of Business and Public Administration, vol. 10 (July, 1961), pp. 13-14.

Perhaps the most significant book of an epochal decade for city planning is Charles M. Haar's Land-Use Planning. His theme is much broader than city planning; he deals with the whole subject of property law in its contemporary setting with emphasis on urban land in metropolitan areas. But he reviews the history of the assumptions and goals of city planning, utilizing material which he developed earlier in various law journals, relating his discussion to important law cases and including a "brilliantly argued debate" in which "an attorney and a city planner discuss some fundamental issues concerned with the role of the city council, the role of the professional city planner, and the role of the master plan" in the city planning process.

Haar, Charles M., "The Master Plan: An Inquiry in Dialogue Form," in his Land-Use Planning; A Casebook on the Use, Misuse, and Re-Use of Urban Land (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1959), pp. 730-744.

Reprinted in Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 25 (August, 1959), pp. 133-142.

With his election to the Berkeley City Council in 1957, T. J. Kent, Jr. was in a position to develop his ideas concerning the role and function of the general plan in a practical way, giving his statements a cast of political pragmatism often lacking in a purely scholarly approach. Twelve years' teaching experience also greatly aided this process. Among his students who have contributed richly, in their own right, to the theory of the general plan, Alan Black stands out as the most important in recent years.

Kent, T. J., Jr., "The Legislative Functions of the General Plan," Proceedings, 8th Biennial Institute of Mayors and Councilmen. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1960. 14 p.

----, "The City General Plan: Its Technical Elements and Legislative Functions," in California Governor's Conference on California's Urban Areas and the State Highway System, Papers (Sacramento, State Department of Public Works, 1960), pp. 32-35.

Black, Alan. The Functions of the Urban General Plan. M.C.P. The University of California, Berkeley. 1960. 136 p.

Robert C. Hoover of Wayne State University rejects the "fourth power" concept of Tugwell as well as Haar's "master plan as an impermanent constitution." It is also certain that his proposals would not fit the definition of general plan suggested by Kent. Hoover would have an elected "Metropolitan Direction-Finding Commission" prepare a 25-year "body of socio-physical end-directions; an executive-prepared 10-year plan for services and physical development; a legislatively-prepared 5-year growth policy and a 5-year socio-physical development plan, the latter to be re-enacted annually."

Hoover, Robert C., "On Master Plans and Constitutions," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 26 (February, 1960), pp. 5-24.

The significance of the "community design plan" as an element of the general plan has only recently been recognized. Chief credit, perhaps, belongs to Henry Fagin and Robert C. Weinberg -- with an important "assist" by Carl Feiss.

American Institute of Architects. Joint Committee on Design Control. Planning and Community Appearance, edited by Henry Fagin and Robert C. Weinberg. New York, Regional Plan Association, 1958. 159 p.

Feiss, Carl, "Planning Absorbs Zoning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, vol. 27 (May, 1961), pp. 121-126.

This brings us to the decade of the sixties -- a period of intensified exploration of city planning's goals and continued expansion of its achievements. It is also an era in which all major university schools of city planning are increasingly concerned that their students participate in some kind of general plan experience -- whether in "new town" group workshops within the curriculum or as interns thrown into the whirl of the local agency's practical general plan preparation. More graduate students, too, are turning to general plan themes for theses topics; Joshua Siegel and Ronald Kaliszewski are but two recent examples.

Siegel, Joshua. An Investigation of the Utility of the General Renewal Plan Concept in Urban Renewal Planning. M.S. in Urban Planning, Columbia University, 1960.

Kaliszewski, Ronald Edmund. The Master Plan: Its Functions, Potential and Limiting Factors. M.S. in City Planning, University of Illinois, 1961. 51 p.

Finally, a milestone in the evolution of urban general plan theory may be reached with publication of Professor Kent's book.

Kent, T. J., Jr. The Urban General Plan. Draft prepared for critical comment. April, 1962. 213 p.

The draft, as presently constituted, consists of five main chapters. Following a section on definitions, forms of municipal government, the city council, the role of city planning in municipal government, the client and purposes of the general plan, the author discusses "fifty years of experience with the general plan," legislative functions and characteristics of the general plan, and, in a final chapter, touches on implications and states his conclusions:

I believe that every city council in the United States today has among its members men and women who are perfectly capable of understanding what a general plan is. I believe that once they see how reasonable and practical and valuable the basic concept of the general plan is, they will never again govern in quite the same way.

If the simplicity of the concept can be appreciated, the practical benefits will become apparent very quickly.

Major conflicts in community development policies will be resolved. Major capital improvement programs will be agreed upon, financed, and carried out. A great new era of civic design will be fostered and sustained. I believe that all of these things will occur sooner or later. ...But in our society, with our philosophy of democratic self-government, they will come sooner if we will trust our elected representatives and will assist them, by means of a general plan that they can use, to do well what they must do in any case. (p. 213.)





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